Art. V.—*Notes on the Customs of Mota, Banks Islands.*

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With Remarks by the Rev. Lorimer Fison, Fiji.

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[Some years ago it was my great good fortune to be concerned in a matter which led to an exchange of letters between the Rev. R. H. Codrington, M.A., of the Melanesian Mission, and myself. The correspondence thus begun has been maintained, chiefly with regard to the customs and the languages of the tribes within our knowledge. The facts communicated to me by Mr. Codrington are so valuable, and his comments upon them are so interesting, that I ventured to urge him strongly to publish them. In reply, he was kind enough to give me permission to make any use of them I pleased, "bearing always in mind that they are only *notes*." It seems to me, that I cannot make a better use of them than by laying them before the Royal Society of Victoria in his own words, together with such additional remarks as may be suggested by my knowledge of the customs of other tribes. The facts will be thereby presented all the sooner to those who are interested in the study of anthropology, and will cause them to look eagerly for the publication of a work on Melanesian customs and languages, which we may hope to welcome, sooner or later, from Mr. Codrington's pen.

My own remarks are enclosed in brackets, and signed with my initials, in order to distinguish them from his.—L. F.]

1. System of Relationship.

The Banks Islands people, though speaking dialects mutually unintelligible, have throughout the same two families, not properly tribes, called in Mota veve—mother. The members of these two veve are mixed indiscriminately in the villages, and have their property equally mixed. The division exists only for the purpose of distinguishing families. There is no common name to the veve. It is said of people belonging to the same veve, "The mother is one;" of those belonging to different veve, "The mother is different." All of one veve are said to be "sogoi" to one another. These divisions are called veve at Mota only; but any Banks islander knows, or can find out, his sogoi on any island. The veve are exogamous, and descent follows the mother.

To a limited extent, within the veve there are certain families, or family connections, which take a name from a particular place. This can scarcely be called a family name—*e.g.*, at Mota a certain family are "*Talo Sepere*," of Sepere, a place in the island of Vanua Lava; and the sons—who are not of the father's veve, because descent is through the mother—will try to marry into the Sepere set again.

Those of the same veve are said to be "on one side of the house;" those of the other veve are said to be on "the other side of the house" (tavala ima). A man must marry a tavala ima. His wife does not come over to his side of the house, but is said to be "at the door." Her children belong to her side of the house, not to his. Hence a man's own children are not "sogoi" to him. His nearest relations are his sister's children, for these are of his veve, and continue his family.

["The other side of the house," see *Supwe*, No. 29 (Gamal). I omit Mr. Codrington's interesting remarks on the terms of kinship and affinity. These require a special study.

The Mota veve are the two exogamous intermarrying divisions, with descent through females, which are found so widely prevalent elsewhere. They are frequently subdivided into four, and these again into smaller divisions; but the memory of the primary divisions is generally kept up, either by actual nomenclature, or by tradition. The badge, or symbol, of a division is generally, though not necessarily, an animal. This is, in fact, the American Indian totem (Dodeim). There is a mysterious relationship between the totem and those who bear it as their "crest." A man does not willingly kill or eat his totem. I have found divisions similar to the Mota veve in the island of Vanua Levu, Fiji. Probably all the Fijian tribes had them formerly.

The Banks islanders seem to have advanced far beyond the old commune, which was undoubtedly represented by the two veve.

Descent is still uterine in some parts of Fiji, as in Mota. Most of the tribes, however, have advanced to agnatic descent. A community is divided into a number of MATA NGGALI, each of which is descended from a common ancestor, whose temple stands in the "quarter" of the town belonging to his matanggali. From each of the sons of this ancestor a minor division, called a YAVUSA, is descended; and each yavūsa is divided into a number of vūvále —households. A vūvále may consist of a number of brothers with their families. All the matanggali of a community—and, indeed, it may be of several communities—trace their common descent to a still more distant ancestor, who is the Kalou Vu, God ancestor, of them all.—L. F.]

2. Land Tenure and Inheritance.

Land is held as the property of individuals—*i.e.*, when bought it is bought from individuals. But the people never buy or sell land among themselves. When the mission has bought land, the individuals who received payment have sold rather an interest in the land than a limited piece of property. A piece of land is the property of a certain well-known number of people who have inherited it, and they use it for gardens—*i.e.*, food plantations—as they like, there being plenty of room.

Property in trees is distinct. A man may have fruit trees, planted by himself or an ancestor, on land to which he has no claim. The property of the two veves is intermingled.

Inheritance.—Land descends to the relatives "on the same side of the house"—*i.e.*, to the sister's children. But the practice is that the sons redeem it with the personal pro-

perty—pigs, money, &c.—which descends to them. This practice has become so established that of late, perhaps from some admixture of European ideas also, a man insisted on his right to his father's fruit-trees without paying the usual redemption-money, and shot the legitimate heirs for interfering.

There is no right of primogeniture. Daughters inherit land if there are no sons.

Bequests.—A man will give directions before death as to his personal property—what one son is to have, and what another. He will also arrange as to what his sons are to give to redeem the real property from his heirs—*i.e.*, from his sister's children.

[In Fiji the tenure of land is distinctly tribal, and the title is vested in all the fullborn members of the tribe. The land is of three kinds—the yávu, or town lot; the nggēle, or arable land; and the veikau, or forest. The veikau is common to all the members of a community, but the yávu and the nggele are divided and sub-divided. Each owner, however, holds for the household to which he belongs, the household holds for the clan, the clan for the tribe, the tribe for the community, and the community for posterity. Each generation has the usufruct only, and cannot alienate the land. The chiefs have overridden this rule, but most unjustly.

The law of primogeniture exists in Fiji to the extent that the eldest son succeeds to the headship of the household rather than the younger. In some of the tribes the descendants of the elder brother are the elder brothers for ever.

Fruit trees are often held by persons who do not own the land, but there is a curious distinction here. The property in this case is rather in the fruit than in the tree, and is, therefore, not considered to be *in* the land. You may take the fruit, but you must not cut down the tree without the landowner's permission. A remarkable distinction was made by one of my Fijian informants:—"He who has a tree on another man's land may cut it down and take it away. His axe does not touch the soil. But he may not dig the tree up by the roots, for his digging-stick would turn up the soil."

Inheritance follows descent. Descent being uterine in Mota, the sister's son inherits. As a general rule, this is not so in Fiji, excepting among certain tribes who have uterine succession. But the tribes which have agnatic descent still bear strong marks of the older line. The sister's son is vasu to his maternal uncle, and can take extraordinary liberties with his property.

Daughters can scarcely be said to inherit land in Fiji. Land is given *with* them on their marriage, but it is not given *to* them. If they hold at all it is only as a means of transmitting the land to their children.

The Mota practice of "redemption of the inheritance" is very interesting. It is a step towards agnatic succession; and I think we need not look to the introduction of "European ideas" for the cause of the violent assertion of ownership in the fruit-trees mentioned by Mr. Codrington. Uterine descent works well enough among nomad hunters or herdsmen; but agricultural settlement is sure to be fatal to it sooner or later.

Bequests of personal property are made in Fiji as in Mota.—L. F.]

3. Marriage.

A match is arranged generally by the relatives, and a payment is made to the father, who will give up his daughter when it is thought desirable. There is no ceremony; but

sometimes a wedding-feast is made when the matter is settled, after which, if it be so arranged, the bride stays with her husband. When there is a feast the father of the bride will make a present to his son-in-law, but not equal to that which he has received. In case of divorce—which is at the will of either party—the father gives back what he received if he gets another sum from a fresh son-in-law. In case of widowhood, the widow is at the disposal of her deceased husband's relatives, unless her dower be returned.

[The Fijian custom is similar. See Williams's *Fiji and the Fijians*.—L.F.]

(*a.*) *Polygamy.*—The usual custom is for a man to have two wives. This seems to be looked upon as a sign of wealth. In Vanua Lava, men are said to have many wives.

(*b.*) *Polyandry* exists but rarely; never with young people; but mostly as a matter of convenience, as when two widowers live with one widow. She is wife to both, and any child she may have belongs to both. There are cases in which a husband connives at a connection between his wife and another man. This is not counted adultery, for it is an open transaction; and it is not polyandry, for the parties are not husband and wife. The practice is not thought respectable.

[Polygamy was common in Fiji, especially among the chiefs, and led to much political disturbance. When a chief's wives were of equal rank, their sons, also, were of equal rank, and were carefully brought up by their mothers to hate one another with a deadly hatred. There is a word in the language for this "brotherly hate." Hence polygamy has been the most fruitful cause of wars and murders in Fiji.

Our Government, since annexation, has been sorely but quite needlessly exercised on this subject, and has considered it necessary to pass an ordinance to legalise polygamous marriages which were contracted before a certain date, and were in force at that date. This was done with the avowed purpose of legitimatising the children of such marriages who were supposed to have been illegitimatised by their mothers having been put away when their fathers turned from heathenism. The fact of the case is that these children were not illegitimatised thereby. The son of a chief by a lady of rank was a chief in his own right, and nothing could make him either illegitimate or more legitimate. Divorce was very common, but it had not the slightest effect upon the children; nor did it bring the slightest dishonour upon the mother if she were properly dismissed. It was even considered decent for the wife to return to her friends after she had borne a few children, and this custom is of wide prevalence elsewhere. Not long ago the wife of a Fijian chief applied to one of our stipendiary magistrates for permission to leave her husband. She had no complaint to make against him, but she thought it high time that she went back to her own kinsfolk.

Polyandry.—I am inclined to disbelieve in polyandry altogether as a distinct institution. All the cases which have come under my notice, or of which I have read in books, including the Nair polyandry and the American Indian instance quoted by Sir John Lubbock in his *Origin of Civilisation* (p. 101, 2nd ed.), seem to me to be either cases of communism under difficulties, or survivals of communism. Polyandry is to be seen under our eyes here in

Fiji among the "imported labourers," but the women may admit those men only who might lawfully approach them in their own islands. Not long ago a Tana man killed a woman with whom he cohabited here, and pleaded in justification that he was bound to kill her because she had admitted a man who belonged to a class (Mota Veve) forbidden to her by their own laws. Had she admitted any number of men who belonged to the lawful class, he said he could have made no objection. This apparent polyandry, therefore, is simply communism with an exceptional scarcity of women.—L. F.]

4. Relation of the Sexes.

Boys, as soon as they grow out of childhood, are sent to sleep in the GAMAL, or public club-house. It was considered to be the duty of parents to look after both boys and girls, and to correct them. Girls never went about alone, and it was no uncommon thing for them to remain chaste until marriage. Adultery was punished as the injured husband chose. He might shoot the man or beat his wife. It is remarkable that sexual intercourse between members of the same veve was thought disgraceful. If such a thing were known, the people of the "other side of the house" would damage the gardens and kill the pigs of those to whom the offenders were "sogoi." No resistance or retaliation would be made.

[The Mota Gamal—the Fijian Mbure; and the custom is the same in both places.

The abhorrence of intercourse between males and females of the same veve is common to all the numerous tribes who are divided into exogamous intermarrying classes like those of Mota. The offence is looked upon as incest, because all the members of a class in the same generation are theoretically brothers and sisters. They are still so designated by many tribes. The "other veve" has the right of revenge for a breach of this rule, because its marital rights have been invaded. The woman was one of its wives. The wasting of the property belonging to the offender's sogoi is in strict accordance with the rule among savages almost everywhere. With them responsibility is not personal but corporate.—L. F.]

5. Intercourse between Relatives by Marriage.

A man will not name his wife's father, but will sit and talk with him. He will not take anything from over his head or step across his legs.

A man will not come near his wife's mother, nor mention her name. They avoid one another, but will talk at a distance. If they meet, the one to whom it is more convenient gets out of the way. At Vanua Lava a man would not follow his mother-in-law along the beach until her footsteps were washed out by the tide, and *vice versâ*.

A man will not name his wife's brother, nor reach above his head for anything, nor step across his legs, but he does

not avoid him, excepting in that he will not sleep with him.

A man will not name his son's wife, but does not avoid her. Parents whose children have intermarried will not name one another, but do not avoid.

The objection to using the person's name extends to every part of his name. Thus Leveveg, having a son-in-law called Matevagqoe, could not use the word for pig, which is qoe. Hardly any one will mention his own name.

This avoiding and not naming relatives by marriage is reciprocal, and is ascribed to a feeling of shyness and respect, "an inward trembling."

[These customs are of world-wide prevalence. *Mutatis mutandis*, they may be said to be general throughout the South Sea Islands and Australia, as well as among many American, Asiatic, and African tribes.

In Fiji brother and sister are strictly tabooed. They will not even speak to one another. Mr. Codrington informs me that this is the rule at Lepers' Island also, though not at Mota.

Sir John Lubbock attributes these customs to the former prevalence of marriage by capture; but the facts will not fit in with this theory.—L. F.]

6. Adoption.

There is no notion of a milk tie. An infant is often adopted, either from pity or relationship, on the death of its mother. When adopted in infancy, the child is carefully kept in ignorance of its adoption, and becomes in all respects one of the family, whether it be of the adopted mother's veve or not. If the adopted child becomes aware of his real parentage, he will very likely go away; and such a discovery causes great unhappiness. If the child be adopted at an age such as enables him to understand the transaction, he lives as one of the family, but does not break his natural ties, or lose his own inheritance, nor does he necessarily succeed to his adoptive father's. The closeness of the relation in such cases depends upon affection and circumstances.

[It is manifest that the Mota custom does not amount to full adoption. This, however, is found in other South Sea Island groups. I do not think it is a purely Fijian custom, though it seems to prevail among some of the tribes who have been intimately connected with the Tongans, and may have learned it from them. A man will adopt the child of his deceased brother. The Rev. F. Langham, chairman of the Wesleyan Mission in Fiji, informed me of a case in which a man deliberately proposed to his wife that she should strangle her own child in order to suckle that of his deceased brother, whose wife also had died. This, however, is quite distinct from adoption proper, which brings into the household a member of another household. In the case in point the child was of its paternal uncle's own Vuvâle (household), and, according to the Fijian system of relationship, the paternal uncle was its father equally with its own father.—L. F.]

7. Couvade.

When a child is born, neither father nor mother eat things, such as fish or meat, which might make the infant ill. The father does not go into sacred (rongo) places which the child could not visit without risk. After the birth of the first child the father does no heavy work for a month, lest the child should be injured. Before the birth of a child the father and mother eat as they please; but before the birth of her first child a woman must not eat fish caught by hook, net, or trap.

[A similar custom is observed in Fiji. Walter Carew, Esq., Commissioner for Tholo (Navitilevu Hill country), was good enough to send me the following note upon it:—"I have frequently observed that fathers abstained from certain articles of food from fear of affecting the child, born or unborn; and I have often joked the people about it. Once I persuaded a man to break the *tabu* and eat some fowl. Unfortunately the child died some time afterwards, and the father more than half believed me to have been the cause of its death."—L. F.]

8. Killing the Aged and the Sick.

If people, from old age or sickness, were lingering in misery, it was usual to bury them alive. Sometimes this was done because the relatives were tired of the trouble of waiting on the sick. Sometimes it was done at their own request, to put them out of their misery. Ten years ago a man at Mota buried his brother, who was in extreme weakness from influenza, but he heaped the earth loosely over his head, and went from time to time to ask him if he were yet alive.

[This custom was universal in Fiji. The aged and the sick were strangled or buried alive when they became too great a burden upon their kinsfolk. Frequently this euthanasia was a matter of common consent between the parties concerned. Aged parents would walk to the grave dug for them by their sons, or offer their necks to the strangling cord, with even less reluctance or emotion on either side than is manifested by a pauper family in England when its old folks are removed to the "Union." In fact, the grave was to the Fijian what the workhouse is to the poorest class at home, and thither he sent the unproductive members of his family as a matter of course. Tribes who make very curious artificial caves for their dead would place the sick man in the vault thus made, and lower food down the shaft of the grave as long as he had strength enough to reach and use it. When the food remained untouched the grave was filled in.—L. F.]

9. Infanticide.

Infanticide of born or unborn children was common, either from fear that the husband should think the child was before its time, or to spite the husband in revenge for something, or

from a desire to appear young, or to save trouble. Male children were killed rather than female, because of the family passing by the female side.

[The fact noted by Mr. Codrington that "male children were killed rather than female," together with the reason for it, is of great importance. Mr. M'Lennan's theory of exogamy is that it is "connected with the practice in early times of female infanticide, which, rendering women scarce, led at once to polyandry within the tribe, and to the capturing of women from without." (*Primitive Marriage*, p. 138). The Mota practice tells against this theory as far as it goes, and it goes a long way. For in "early times" descent was, as it is now at Mota, through females. That is to say, this line of descent can be shown to be earlier than the agnatic On many other grounds I believe Mr. M'Lennan's theory to be utterly untenable.

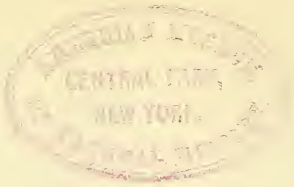
Infanticide was, and still is, very common in Fiji. There are several words for killing an unborn child. An old chief once defended, in my hearing, the practice of killing new-born children on the ground that "their souls had not yet come to them."—L. F.]

10. Ghosts.

It is most desirable to distinguish between ghosts, and spirits which are not the spirits of dead men. The Mota people use different words for them, and never think of them as the same. A ghost, in vulgar English, is a dead man—"tamate." A spirit, an incorporeal personal being, is a "vui." Neither the English "ghost" nor the Latin "spirit" makes this distinction, but to keep it we may use "ghost" for the dead man's ghost (tamate), and "spirit" for the being that never was incorporate.

A ghost, then (tamate), is the soul or "atai" of a man which has left the body. It does not go far at first, and may possibly be recalled. Hence the people shout the name of the person who is dying, or just dead, in hope that the atai may hear and come back. It is even supposed that an atai may be caught and put back. Not long ago a man heard a rustling just as a neighbour had expired, and believed he had caught the atai in his hand. He took it to the corpse and opened his hand over the dead man's mouth, but the expected revival did not take place. On the fifth day after death they shout and blow conchs to scare the tamate away, the dead body, which also is called "tamate," having been buried on the day of death or the day after.

The ghosts of the dead are believed to congregate in a common receptacle called Panoi, which has several entrances to it on the various islands. Whether they remain there for ever or perish after a while is a matter of doubt. There are houses at Panoi, and trees with red leaves, but all is unsubstantial. The ghosts live together as on earth, but they live



A TAMATE (GHOST, OR DEAD MAN) OF THE SEA.

Facsimile of the Original Drawing by a native of Mota, Banks Islands.

an empty, aimless life. They neither work nor fight. Panoi is a dismal region—a worse, and not a better, earth, and is dreaded accordingly. The ghosts are separated according to the death they died, those who have been shot being together; those, also, who die of the same disease, and so forth. The condition of the ghosts in Panoi is not supposed to be affected by good or evil conduct during life; but some believe that the conditions of rich and poor, great and insignificant, are reversed. The ghosts eat excrement, particularly those who were rich in this world. In one particular only was there a notion of a future reward for goodness. Young men who had kept themselves chaste were supposed to live under somewhat less dismal circumstances, and to come out and dance on moonlight nights. Stupid, harmless persons, also, were thought to be better off than the rest.

After the ghost reaches Panoi, it is weak for a time, and cannot move about. The ghosts were supposed to leave Panoi by night and range about their island. They are greatly dreaded in the dark. Phosphorescent fungi are supposed to be their eyes. They are heard shouting and blowing whistles made of landcrabs' claws on moonlight nights at the "sura," the entrance to Panoi on the mountain at Mota. Some of them frequent the sea, and do mischief there, as their fellows do on shore. They are supposed to be malevolent towards the living. The accompanying sketch, which was made by a native, represents one of the sea-frequenting ghosts—in the language of books, "spirits of the sea." To represent them as belonging to the sea, or because the natives suppose they have suffered a sea change, they are drawn as much like fishes as may be. These, and the land-haunting ghosts, appear in travellers' and anthropologists' writings as spirits of the sea, the woods, the rivers, &c.; but the natives call them all "tamate," which is simply "dead men." So, also, what have been called "the spirits of the sea and air" at Anaiteum reveal the truth through the native word for them—*natmas*—which is neither more nor less than the Mota *tamate*.

There used to be in San Cristoval a canoe-house—temple, according to travellers—which was full of drawings. Now it is a ruin, and there is no hope of the natives doing anything like it again. It had a series of pictures all along the wall-plates and lower purlines, representing native life as naturally as the drawings in an Egyptian tomb—*e.g.*, feasts,

from the first climbing for the cocoanuts through all the processes of cooking; fights, fishing, accidents at sea—everything almost. Among them was a canoe attacked, as I supposed when I first saw it, by demons. It was not till long afterwards that I found out my supposed demons were only ghosts.

It is by ghosts (tamate), not by other spirits, that evils are inflicted on mankind. Some are vaguely dreaded, as that ghosts should eat men. The "ghosts of the sea" use flying fishes and others as spears or arrows. If one of these fishes strike a man he is supposed to have been shot by a tamate. Men and children were sometimes possessed by ghosts. When a man was possessed by a "wandering ghost," as the natives say, he was supernaturally strong and agile. He rushed from place to place, shouting and making peculiar noises. Such a man was seized by the neighbours and held in the fumes of strong-smelling herbs while they called the names of the dead men whose ghosts might be supposed to have possessed him. When the right name was called the patient cried out that "It was he," and forthwith recovered. A child was sometimes supposed to be possessed when it was lingering in wasting sickness. It had strayed, perhaps, on a grave, or some haunted place; and a tamate had entered it, and was drawing out its soul. Certain women knew how to cure the child by muttered charms, blowing on the eyes, and calling the name of the man whose ghost was supposed to be killing the child. When the right name was called the patient revived.

[I have observed among many tribes in Fiji, and in Australia also, what seems to be a notion that the ghost does not get free from the body until the fourth day after death. Hence, perhaps, the blowing of conchs at Mota on the fifth day to scare the "tamate" away. The *atai* has become a *tamate*, and is now to be dreaded. Among the lower savages I think the dead are always supposed to be malevolent towards the living; and even with those of higher culture the old dread lingers long. The Fijian, for instance, deifies his ancestors, honours them, and worships them; and yet he is terribly afraid of the lately dead, and adopts all manner of queer precautions against them. Propitiation suggested by fear lies, I believe, at the root of ancestral worship.

The very objectionable diet of the Mota ghosts seems to be the result of a fair process of reasoning. Ghosts are dead men, and such matters may not unnaturally be looked upon as "dead food." See Taylor's *Te Ika, a Maui*, for an account of a like belief among the Maories. It is not, as far as I know, a Fijian belief.

The chaste young ghost of Mota would fare badly if he were to betake himself to the Fijian Hades, for there is a terrible god with a terrible name in the path, who is utterly implacable towards bachelors.

I have seen somewhere a long list of demons who are to be called by name in cases of possession at the present day among Roman Catholics. This method of exorcism was used, I believe, as late as 1861, during the prevalence of the strange phenomena which appeared at Morzine.* This is a very curious instance of the survival of a savage custom in civilisation.

* See "The Devils of Morzine," *Cornhill Magazine*, Vol. XI., p. 468.

11. Spirits.

(*a.*) Spirits who correspond rather to deified ancestors, since they were born, married, had children, and yet were *vuis*. The chief of these was Qat, who was born in Vanua Lava, and had several brothers, whose names are Tangaro. Qat is said to have made men, and with his brothers was invoked in danger, yet can hardly be said to have been considered a god. They were all, nevertheless, vuis, not men—something more than men.

(*b.*) Beings like fairies, called Nopitu-vuis, yet occasionally visible in human form, and becoming invisible at will. They gave money and food to those whom they visited; came invisibly, and sang most sweetly in a child's voice; entered into people, who performed strange feats by their power; had children by women; and also, as females, lived with men.

(*c.*) Beings altogether incorporeal, and having certain powers in nature. Certain places were sacred (rongo), because of connection with a vui. So, also, are certain stones, which are said to be vuis in the shape of a stone, and are of good or evil repute, according to the origin of the connection between the vui and the stone. Stones which are of an unhappy character are avoided; those of happy associations are used as media for obtaining advantages. These had what may be called their priests—certain persons who knew the stone, and called its vui theirs; not as having power over the vui, but as being "near" it, having a connection with it. Such a man received money from any one who desired riches, a good harvest, or other kind of success, and offered some of it on the stone, making sacrifice (oloolo) with a prayer to the vui.

There does not seem to be any notion of a vui doing harm to men. They were certainly not propitiated as malignant powers. Diseases were not supposed to be caused by them directly; but perhaps a man might use the power he had acquired from a vui to bring disease upon his enemy.

[I am at present inclined to think that all the spiritual beings of Fiji, including the gods, are simply the Mota tamate. Williams, however, tells us that he met with a tradition of fairies at Vanua Levu, an island which must be distinguished from Mr. Codrington's Vanua Lava. His informant declared that he had seen them. "They were all little, like your sons," he said, and his eyes glistened as he told the tale. I have had no opportunity of investigating the customs of that island, save during two hurried visits of short duration. Its customs seem to be peculiar in several important respects, and it is there that

uterine succession is found. As to the little fairies, however, it should be noted that certain burial customs show that ghosts are thought to be of very short stature—at any rate when they first leave the body. And this is a reasonable belief, for they are supposed to have been contained within the body. The Fijian language has not words corresponding to the Mota atai and tamate. Yalo has to do duty for both, yalo ni mate (soul of the dead) being used when it is desirable to specify definitely a ghost.

In Williams's *Fiji and Fijians* an account of sacred stones, with illustrations, will be found. The Rev. F. Langham, before mentioned, has in his possession a stone which is evidently phallic.—L. F.]

12. Sacred Objects.

Men can *tapu* things for particular purposes, but that does not make the thing sacred (rongo). An inherent natural quality of awfulness, in greater or less degree, belongs to that which is rongo. Certain places are thus rongo, and no one will visit them, excepting those who are in some way "connected with" the places, and have a kind of right to go there. Stones in such places are sacred; so are banyans and serpents. Serpents that haunt a house are sacred, but no observance is paid to them. This applies to other islands, for there are no land snakes at Mota. Certain streams, or parts of a stream, are sacred—connected with a vui—places of sacrifice. The cycas (mele) is always sacred; and yet it is cut down without scruple if it be in the way. Some individuals have a superstitious feeling about sharks, owls, eels, lizards, and water snakes.

Small round stones, or stones of some shape that took the fancy, were assumed by men as a kind of fetish. They imagined that some vui was connected with them, and that they had an influence favourable to them. These stones were buried in the garden to bring a good crop, or hung up in the house in a bag. If a stranger came into a house in which such a stone was hanging, and meddled with things in an improper way, and afterwards met with an accident, the man of the house would give the credit of it to the stone —"My tangaroa did it." A man would take a fancy to a stone, and hang it round his neck, and think it brought him luck, made him shoot true, and caused his enemies to miss him. Tangaroa is a common name for some kind of deity in the Pacific. Tagar, or togaro, is the chief spirit in Aurora and Lepers' Island.

[Tangaloa in Tonga and Samoa; tangaroa, ta 'aroa, kanaroa in other groups.—L. F.]

13. Prayers.

In danger, as at sea, vuis were invoked, as well as ancestors, and relatives lately dead. The vuis also, as already stated, were prayed to at the sacred stones. These were prayers (tataro). Besides these, incantations were called prayers, which formerly were customary—*e.g.*, on pouring water into the native oven a prayer was muttered that enemies might be scalded. So also in the cure of diseases, in making rain, sunshine, or crops of yams or bread-fruit, though these were done with songs rather than prayer.

[I believe—though I should hesitate to make a positive assertion—that the Fijian did not use incantations as distinguished from prayers. A prayer is a petition to a god or spirit; an incantation is some sort of formula by which the god may be coerced, compelled to do what his worshipper desires. Prayer in Fiji generally concluded with malignant requests as to the enemy—"Let us live, and let those who speak evil of us perish. Let the enemy be clubbed, swept away, utterly destroyed, piled in heaps. Let their teeth be broken. May they fall headlong into a pit. Let us live, and let our enemies perish." These, however, are not incantations proper. They are direct petitions.—L. F.]

14. Magic Charms.

These, as distinct from incantations and fetishes, were of three principal kinds.

(*a.*) *Talamatai*—a bit of a dead man's bone wrapped in certain leaves while a song was chanted. This being placed in the path, the first who stepped over it was supposed to be afflicted with an ulcer.

(*b.*) *Garata*—a fragment of a man's food, hair, or finger nail, worked up with incantations to bring disease upon him.

(*c.*) *Tamatetiqa*—ghost-shot, bones and leaves enclosed in a small bamboo with charms. The man who wished to hurt another fasted to give his charm power; and then holding the bamboo in his hand with his thumb over the open end, he watched for his enemy, pointed the bamboo at him, and, lifting his thumb, shot him with the magic influence. Tamatetiqa is the word now used for a gun.

[Similar charms were commonly used in Fiji, and, indeed, by savages everywhere. In Fiji, however, I think the charm is supposed to have a certain inherent baneful influence of its own—for instance, the method of charging with dropsy, leprosy, &c. The sausau, or disease-bearing reed, does not seem to me to amount to an incantation proper. The Maori spells, on the other hand, are true incantations. They are real "words of power," and compel the spirits. (See a weird account of Maori enchantments in Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 168.)

The Fijians are terribly afraid of the garata. Some of our mission-agents, who faced boldly enough spears and clubs in the hands of angry men, quailed before it. I am convinced that natives frequently die of fear when they think themselves thus bewitched.—L. F.]

15. Doctors.

All serious diseases are ascribed either to charms such as are above described or to the direct malignant action of tamate. The gismana, or doctors, treated them with counter charms and incantations.

The gismana were not those who made charms to cause disease. They sincerely believed in their power, though they practised deceit. They sucked the part of the body where the pain lay, and then spat out something which was supposed to have been causing the pain. For a toothache they would apply a small roll of leaves with a grub concealed in it, which, when the toothache passed away, was shown as having been drawn out of the tooth. They would stroke the afflicted part, singing songs the while, or blow upon it after chewing certain leaves. Some things, also, they did with the notion of healing qualities in the leaves or poultices applied.

[Sir John Lubbock, after giving an account of endless charms against sickness in his *Origin of Civilisation*, makes the extraordinary assertion that "savages are rarely ill" (p. 45). This is one among very many ill-considered statements in which that work abounds. Savages are very frequently ill, and their languages are full of words for all manner of diseases, for charms to cause them, and for counter-charms against them.

The methods of the Mota gismana are repeated by the medicine men among savages everywhere. That they really believe in their power over sickness, as Mr. Codrington says, I am fully convinced. One of our native mission-agents in Fiji assured me very earnestly that he had the power of expelling disease-causing spirits, and he gave me a minute description of his treatment. He passed his hands over the patient's body until he detected the spirit by a peculiar fluttering sensation in his finger ends. He then endeavoured to draw it down to one of the extremities—a foot or a hand. Much patience and care were required, because these spirits are very cunning and will double back, and hide themselves in the trunk of the body if you give them a chance. "And even," he said, "when you get the demon into a leg or an arm which you can grasp with your fingers, you must take care, or he will escape you. He will lodge in the joints, and hide himself among the bones. Hard, indeed, is it to get him out of a joint! But when you have drawn him down into a finger, or a toe, you must pull him out with a sudden jerk, and throw him far away, and blow after him lest he should return."—L. F.]

16. Shadows.

The word niniai in Mota corresponds exactly to the English "shadow," as used by those who have not taken up the Latin word "reflection" for the image given by rays of light. It means a definite form, but unsubstantial, having no independent existence. It is not *shade* as in a wood or a house; and it is rightly applied to an image given by interception of rays of light, or by reflection. To

use the word to describe the individual unsubstantial being connected with the substantial body, but distinct from it, is very natural, and does not imply the belief that shadow and soul are the same thing.

17. Exit of Soul in Dreams, &c.

It is thought that the "atai" goes out of the body in some dreams, but not in all, and sometimes in sleep which has no dream. Persons are believed, and believe themselves, to have their atai go out of them in sleep to eat the newly dead, not the flesh of the corpse, but the lingering life. They are called talamaur. One such was watched for not long ago, and heard to approach a corpse. One of the watchers aimed at him with a stone, and in the morning the talamaur was found with a fresh bruise on his arm, which he said he had received as he went to the corpse.

18. Souls of Beasts or Inanimate Objects.

The Mota people had a notion that the pigs killed for a funeral feast, the food laid on the grave, and the ornaments with which the corpse was dressed, had their "atai" to accompany his; but they deny that under other circumstances pigs, or birds, or inanimate objects have "atai."

19. Dances.

Dances in Mota are absolutely devoid of religious or superstitious meaning. The men and women dance separately, and the dances are quite innocent. In *Bishop Patteson's Life* a letter of his is given describing a feast and common dancing to the drum as a religious ceremony. But he discovered next year that he had been completely mistaken. He had a Loyalty Island Christian with him, who interpreted every native custom at Mota in the worst sense, as is too often the way of converts. Sir John Lubbock's statement that "Dancing among savages is no mere amusement" is wrong for Melanesians.

[I have not been able to discover the slightest approach to religious sentiment in the Fiji dances. Some of them are very fine—real dramatic representations with dialogue and appropriate action; others are rhythmic movements to a chanted accompaniment, whose words are often very filthy. In some of the dances both words and gestures are grossly indecent.—L. F.]

20. Rattles.

The rattle is a common child's toy at Mota and elsewhere. The natives know nothing of it as "a sacred and mysterious instrument."

21. Cannibalism.

Cannibalism is altogether unknown in the Banks Islands, but is more or less practised nearly everywhere else in Melanesia.

22. Clothing.

Clothing was not used at all by males in the Banks Islands, excepting a very handsome dress worn in dancing only by certain grades of the Supwe *(see Supwe)*. The women wore a small double band, prettily made and ornamented. The art of making these dresses has almost died out by this time.

I think it clear that wearing any considerable amount of clothing is a mark of the Polynesian element, which shows itself in four particulars—cannibalism, clothes, chiefs, and *tapu*. When I say Polynesian, I mean the race which now occupies the islands to the east. The Tongans are those whom we know to have come in quite modern times to the Banks Islands; and by the language it seems clear that it is they who are represented by the Polynesian settlements at Mae and Fate. The Mae language is Tongan with very little change, and a Mae man understands the Fate.

But though in the Banks Islands the males wore absolutely no clothing, yet they had words for the thing; and, what is curious, these words are different in different islands. At Merlav (New Hebrides) they call it *gagao*, which is a Maori word; in most of the other islands they call it *malsam*, which is perhaps the Fijian *malo;* but in Mota they call it *siopa*. It is odd that, not having the thing, they should have a word for it peculiar to themselves.

[In Samoa and Tonga the native cloth made from the paper mulberry is called *hiapo* or *siapo*. This doubtless is the Mota *siopa*. Probably the Fijian *seavu* is the same word.

With reference to cannibalism as a "Polynesian" characteristic, it is to be noted that the Tongans were not cannibals. The contrary has been asserted, but without sufficient evidence. Some of the Tongan warriors, who visited Fiji and fought in the wars there, became man-eaters, but they were looked upon with horror by their countrymen. The question is settled by the fact that there are no cannibal words in the Tongan language. The Fijian, on the contrary, is full of them.—L. F.]

23. Sneezing.

It is thought that when a man sneezes somebody is talking about him.

[In Fiji a salutation is shouted to the sneezer by the bystanders—"May you live." It is proper to utter a good wish in return—"Thanks! May you kill," *i.e.*—kill an enemy.—L. F.]

24. Stone Clubs.

Mr. Stevens says, in his book called *Flint Chips*, that "Mr. Robert Day, of Cork, possesses a stone club from San Cristoval." I question whether the club was procured at that island. I have only seen one, and that was obtained in the Solomon Group. It is headed with a stone, which is woven over with cane, so that one cannot see whether it be drilled or not. It is an upright oval as fastened to its handle.

[I have in my possession three clubs, weighted with drilled stones, from New Britain. The handle of one of them, from which I detached the stone, is four feet two inches long, and is sharpened to a point at the lower end. The stone weighs nine ounces, seemingly a light weight for the purpose. But it needs only to take the club in one's hand in order to perceive that it is a thoroughly effective weapon. The poise is exact.—L. F.]

25. Wild Men.

Throughout the field covered by our mission there is everywhere a story, but with all sorts of modifications, that inland on the mountain or mountains there is, or used to be, a race of wild men, to whom different names are given in the different places. The stories might be those one reads from the great islands and peninsulas of Asia. These creatures live in trees and eat fruit. They are never seen more than two together, and single young ones are seen with the mother. They wear no clothes, but carry a bag, which seems odd. They cannot speak. They are seen high up on the great volcano at Ambrym sunning and scratching themselves. If they catch a man they tear him with their long nails, and some say that they will devour him. I have not heard of any that have tails, but I am settled in the belief that they are identical with the tailed men represented in the myths of New Guinea and New Britain. Does this widespread belief originate in the memory of apes in the ancient home of these people, or in that of men in a lower state

than themselves? Or is it a flight of the same fancy which has devised all sorts of fairies? In New Zealand there turns up from time to time the report that a wild tribe has been found inland, founded on a similar notion among the Maories. I remember twice to have heard of the discovery.

[I never heard of any such tradition in Fiji. The islands are too small for such a growth. But it is remarkable that, though the monkey is not a native of Fiji, the language has a word for "monkey," which does not seem to have been introduced from without. It is said that when Fijians still living first saw a monkey, they exclaimed, "A ngele! a ngele!" recognising the animal from the tradition of the ngele which was current among them. Mr. Codrington, to whom I mentioned the circumstance, suggests that the ngele may have been the opossum. There is an opossum in the Solomon Islands. —L. F.]

26. Totems.

There is something resembling a totem, though not a totem. Some people connect themselves with an object, generally an animal, as a lizard or a snake, or with a stone, which they imagine to have a certain very close natural relation to themselves. This, at Mota, is called tamaniu—likeness. This word at Aurora is used for the "atai" of Mota. Some fancy dictates the choice of a tamaniu; or it may be found by drinking the infusion of certain herbs, and heaping together the dregs. Whatever living thing is first seen in or upon the heap is the tamaniu. It is watched, but not fed or worshipped. The natives believe that it comes at call. The life of the man is bound up with the life of his tamaniu. If it dies, gets broken or lost, the man will die. In sickness they send to see how the tamaniu is, and judge the issue accordingly. This is only the fancy of some.

[Though this is not a veritable totem, I am inclined to think that it is connected with the totem. Too many words, however, would be required for the discussion of the subject here.—L. F.]

27. Counting.

Mota people count up to 1000 readily and accurately. I was once told at a feast the number of bananas—nearly 3000. On being recounted they amounted to the exact number specified. At another time I wished to buy 200 dried bread-fruit; 164 had been brought and counted, and a bystander immediately gave the number deficient. At the same time our scholars are very slow at arithmetic in our

fashion. Their mental view is different from ours, and is not readily caught by us.

Their system is natural and clear. Up to 5 their numerals are the common ones of the Pacific. On the second hand they are the same with a prefix up to 10, which is "sangavul." The unit above 10 is called the numei. Tens above 100 are called the avaviu.

Example.—127 is thus expressed:—

Melnol vatuwale, 0 avaviu sangavul rua, 0 numei lavearua.

"Hundred once, the avariu is tens two, the numei is the other two"—*i.e.*, 5 + 2, or seven.

Of course they use "ten hundred" and "a thousand" loosely also. A traveller knowing nothing of the language, and having to deal with a stupid person through an interpreter, would very likely report that the people could not count, and all the anthropologists would repeat the statement.

[Distinguishing between counting and calculation by using the former word for the mechanical process of counting visible objects—one, two, three, and so on—and the latter for the mental operation necessary in the case of Mr. Codrington's dried bread-fruit, I think we may say that the Fijians are good counters and bad calculators. They will count up to many thousands, but few of them would have been able to subtract mentally the 164 bread-fruit from the whole number required. The possession of words for high numbers has been taken as a mark of superior intelligence, but I think it is not necessarily so. There are tribes who count to high numbers simply because they have things to count, and they are in the habit of counting them. Thus root-growers like the Fijian often have enormous quantities of yams to count, and they count them correctly; but they cannot be called good arithmeticians, even in the smallest way, nor do our mission-students show much capacity for mental calculation. They soon learn to manipulate figures with slate and pencil, but they look upon them simply as things with which certain operations are to be performed; and it is extremely difficult to get into their minds the fact that figures are only symbols of real things, and to make them think out the simplest arithmetical process.

I have not read of any pastoral tribe who are good counters. The savage does not readily count moving objects. He must lay his hand upon the things he counts, and reckon them one by one.

There are certain numbers which are landmarks, so to speak, from which the counter "takes a fresh departure." Thus in Fijian, lima, hand, is 5; tini, finished (*i.e.*, both hands done with), is 10; ndrau, leaf, is 100; undolu is 1000, omba is 10,000; and vatuloa, blackstone, is 100,000. The etymology of undolu and omba is not apparent, though the former means "a company"—a *many*, as we still say in the provinces—in the language of Florida, one of the Solomon Islands, which is closely allied with the Fijian. All these words are evidently "tallies." There is no doubt that they are real numerals, and that the highest of them has frequently been brought into service in yam-counting. Mr. Codrington informs me that the Mota word for 100 (melnol) is the leaf of the cycas. It will be observed that the Mota people use 5 as their first tally. The Fijian goes on to 10, and then starts afresh with 10 and 1, 10 and 2, and so on. Though his first 10 is called tini, or *finished*, all subsequent tens are sángavulu—the Mota sangavul, a word whose etymology it is desirable to ascertain. It is common to many of the Pacific languages.

The word for "hand" in most parts of Fiji is *linga*, but *lima* is found in some of the Fijian dialects. This is simply one of those interchanges of consonants which are so frequent in these languages. I take this opportunity of

noting the fact that these interchanges are precisely those which children make before they learn to speak with full articulation.

As the ability to count up to high numbers is not necessarily a mark of superior intelligence, unless it be taken for granted that root-growers must be more intelligent than hunters or pastoral tribes, so also, as it seems to me, the inability to count beyond very low numbers does not necessarily prove a lack of intelligence. Sir John Lubbock tells us that there is no "more striking proof of the low mental condition of many savage races than the undoubted fact that they are unable to count their own fingers even of one hand." But why *should* they count their fingers, unless they have something to count on them? Savages are practical people, and it never occurs to them to sit down and count their fingers for mere amusement, or even as a curious study. The Australian has perhaps no articles of property more numerous than his spears, of which he usually carries two or three; and why, then, should he invent numerals beyond that limit? He soon learns to count when it becomes necessary for him to learn, and my friend, Mr. A. W. Howitt, F.G.S., informs me that the boys in one of the Victorian aboriginal schools gained the highest possible number of marks in the subjects (including arithmetic) in which they were examined by the Government inspector.—L. F.]

28. Money.

The common money of the Banks Islands is made of the tips of shells strung together. A finer kind is made for ornament. This money is money strictly. There are regular terms for borrowing, interest, and so on. The rate of interest is cent. per cent., without limitation of time; and there is a kind of forced loan, which the receiver is bound to take by a feeling of honour, but which he cannot make to the lender. Rich men thus keep others back by sending them an unasked-for loan, which they have to repay double.

[The Rev. George Brown, F.R.G.S., of the Wesleyan Mission to New Britain, states that shell-money, like that of Mota, is current there also. The tribes of New Britain seem to be born traders. Even husband and wife will not give one another so much as a morsel of food or a leaf of tobacco without money payment.—L. F.]

29. Supwe, or Suqe.

This most important institution is the chief bond of society in the Banks Islands, and extends certainly as far as the Three Hills in the New Hebrides, in substance the same.

The men who pass for chiefs are those who are highest in this society; and the names given by traders, naval officers, and others as the names of chiefs are often the words expressing the grade in the society to which they had attained. At Mota, and in the Banks Islands generally, the supwe practically includes every male, and every one's place and influence depend very much on his rank in it.

In every village is a long house, divided into compartments, each with its own oven, each compartment belonging to a certain rank. This house is the gamal, so called, with variations, in the New Hebrides also. Money has to be paid to all above in rank in order to rise to a higher degree, and in the higher ranks many pigs have to be given. In these ranks the members are few, and have great power, inasmuch as they have it in their hands to allow those below to rise, or to exclude them.

Formerly every male was obliged to eat in the gamal only, and if he ate in a private house he had to pay a fine. There is absolutely no superstitious character attaching to this institution, and it is no mystery. Women have something of the same sort among themselves, but no gamal. The Banks Islands people think the New Hebrides supwe very lax; but the New Hebrides great men in it seem to be greater men than any in Mota.

30. The Tamate.

This institution also has great influence, and spreads as far at least as Ambrym in the New Hebrides. It is a secret society, with many parallel secret societies, some trifling, some very select. No superstitious element can be discovered, though much mystery is cultivated. The name tamate—ghosts—and the pretence kept up was that it was an association with ghosts, and that the members, when they appeared, were ghosts. The meeting-places, kept strictly private, are close to every village. When the members are out gathering materials for their feasts, the uninitiated are warned out of the way by peculiar cries. When they emerge in public for dances or other shows they are disguised with masks and hats of extraordinary form.

Candidates for admission have to pay money to every member, and spend a certain number of days in the "salagoro," the private retreat of the society. To some of the societies admission costs a great deal of money. The men who belong to these, being the richest people, and, therefore high in the supwe also, have a great deal of power. For example, many years ago the man highest in rank in the supwe, and member of all the tamates in Mota and the nearer part of Vanua Lava—Mala by name—forbade all molestation of Bishop Patteson's party; and, in

course of time, he forbade the carrying or taking up of bows in Mota. Any one who took his bow had to pay a fine to the tamate. On one of my first days in Mota, in 1869, we heard all around one morning the peculiar cry of the tamates, and we were told that they were all astir because some one had taken his bow to shoot a man who had offended him. Later in the day we heard the man had given a pig as his fine, and all was quiet. One would have supposed from this that Mala was a powerful chief, but it was only his social power through the two clubs that showed itself.

[I delayed the compilation of this paper for several months in the hope of hearing from my friend, the Rev. George Brown, of New Britain, to whom I sent Mr. Codrington's account of the clubs; but I have been disappointed. I am persuaded that the tamate is the New Britain duk-duk. What I heard formerly of this institution from him coincides exactly as far as it goes with Mr. Codrington's description. I have in my possession a photograph taken by Mr. Brown of several persons in the duk-duk dresses and tall hats. The hats are 5 feet high, and the men who wear them look, when sitting down, like very small candle-ends under very large extinguishers. I have also a number of the masks; and most horrible things they are, being the front parts of skulls with artificial flesh and hair. One of the masks in the possession of the Rev. F. Langham is of quite another kind, and is really a most elaborate work of art.

These secret societies require a thorough investigation. They are widely prevalent, and they may tell us many things.—L. F.]

31. Laws.

There was and is no political constitution whatever in the Banks Islands; no chiefs, nor any men in authority excepting from their position in the societies. People were altogether equal, and the law was that of the man most ready with his bow, excepting in as much as customs, superstition, or social position acted as a restraint.

As there are no chiefs, nor government, nor tribes properly so called, revenge for injury and defence of rights are entirely private affairs. A bow and poisoned arrows were always at hand. Relatives of the injured person took revenge on any relatives of him who began the fray. Often villages became at enmity, village against village—as within a village a family connection against another family connection. Some one generally acted as a go-between, and the quarrel was settled by payment made. If the thing had gone on far, and many people or two groups of villages were concerned, the reconciliation was a ceremony with speeches.

32. Morality.

To judge of a people's notion of morality is very difficult without an intimate acquaintance with them; and this is one of the many matters on which writers with a theory to maintain can make customs and language mean almost what they please. As to life and property, no doubt murder and theft were not considered at Mota as they are in a civilised community; but a violent man and a quiet man, a thief and an honest man, were looked upon as very different characters; and there are no lack of words for various kinds of badness which convey disapprobation. So also words are in common use for a liberal, a compassionate, an industrious man, which certainly are used as terms of approbation. How far this use of words—this approbation or disapprobation—was moral, depends upon what people choose to call morality. Morality can be denied to any people if words may be treated as they are by Mariner.

[Sir John Lubbock accuses savages of being "almost entirely wanting in moral feeling;" but this accusation seems to me to be entirely unjust. The question here is not as to the comparative excellence of two moral codes, but as to whether savages have any moral code at all; and no one who knows anything about them will assert that they have none. Not only have they a well-defined code of their own, but they are far more strict in observing it than civilised men are in observing theirs. There is no such thing as a lawless class among savages; nor is there any such thing among them as a man's being held in honourable esteem though he deliberately and habitually offends against the code of morality by which he professes to be bound. That social hypocrisy is the exclusive property of civilised nations.

Mariner's treatment of words, referred to by Mr. Codrington, furnishes us with a good example of that liability to mistake which besets men who have only an imperfect acquaintance with a people whenever they begin to reason on what little they know. Mariner, or rather the savant who compiled the work which goes under Mariner's name, says of the Tongan language that "there are no words in it essentially expressive of some of the higher qualities of human merit—as virtue, justice, humanity; nor of the contrary, as vice, injustice, cruelty;" and this statement is gravely quoted by Sir John Lubbock in support of his assertion that "savages are almost entirely wanting in moral feeling." The fact of the case is that all those words are abstract nouns, and few such nouns are found in any language spoken by savage tribes. But I could quote plenty of adjectives from the Tongan language which express the quality of any particular action in terms of approbation or disapprobation, as the case may be—good or bad, just or unjust, cruel or merciful, and so forth. The moral code of the savage is indeed a low one as compared with that for the possession of which we have not ourselves to thank; but it is the best he knows, and he acts up to it.—L. F.]

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

[The ground covered by the Melanesian Mission—from the Three Hills, Anaiteum, to Ysabel, in the Solomon Group, together with other islands beyond their line, presents one of the most promising and least known fields of research to the anthropologist, especially with regard to the social constitution of the people. We find among them unmistakable traces, such as are found almost everywhere else, of an ancient commune, broken up by that